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The Shape of Things

CHAMBERLAIN'S ABILITY TO WORM OUT OF awkward situations is likely to be tested to the limit by Franco's emphatic rejection of the British plan for withdrawal of Italian "volunteers" from Spain. An impasse has now been reached from which there seems to be no face-saving means of escape. Despite the mass of technical objections raised by Franco, it must be evident even to Chamberlain that the plan was rejected because the rebels are again desperately in need of Italian assistance, and that Mussolini himself was behind its rejection. Thus the Anglo-Italian pact cannot be brought into operation by the means envisioned last spring. To scrap the agreement openly would be an intolerable confession of failure. To bring it into force without even a token withdrawal of "volunteers" would be to risk a political earthquake—particularly since Chamberlain has promised that he would not do so without calling a special session of Parliament. With Parliament safely in recess and political activity at its seasonal low ebb, the Prime Minister is likely to attempt to muddle through.

THE ELABORATE RECEPTION GIVEN HORTHY in Germany is all too obvious in its intent. It represents an attempt to entice Hungary to play the inglorious role that Austria filled so satisfactorily during the last two years of its existence. Hungary is to be cemented to the axis. It is to agree to support the German demands in Czechoslovakia, militarily and economically. Anti-Nazi elements are gradually to be weeded out in preparation for ultimate Anschluss. Attempts will be made to persuade it to exchange wheat and other farm products, desperately needed by Germany, for machine-guns and military equipment which will enable it to aid the Reich more effectively in the coming war. While Horthy is being feted in Germany, the Foreign Ministers of the three Little Entente countries are meeting at Bled, Yugoslavia, to consider, among other things, means of conciliating Hungary. For the time being Hungary will probably content itself with attempting to get the most out of its temporarily strong bargaining position. This,

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however, cannot last indefinitely. Irrespective of the outcome of Germany's present ambitions in Czechoslovakia, Hungary is high on Hitler's list. It must choose between national suicide and resistance based on the support of the Little Entente.

*

DALADIER'S STATEMENT THAT THE FORTY-hour week is detrimental to the safety and prosperity of France may well mark the formal end of the French Popular Front. Already the Ministers of Labor and Public Works, both independent Socialists, have resigned, and the Socialist and Communist press is denouncing the government in unmeasured terms. The forty-hour week was the crowning achievement of the first Blum government. For the workers it made up, to some extent, for the rising cost of living and the shameless betrayal of Spain. Daladier has taken much and offered nothing in return. His brief rule has been marked by a further depreciation of the franc, involving a new rise in the cost of living, ruthless suppression of sitdown strikes, a new closing of the Spanish frontier, and now the repudiation of the chief plank in the Popular Front platform. His pretext is plausible. The hours of work must be increased, he insists, in order to meet the competition of other countries in which no limit is set on industrial activity. But what counts in foreign competition is not the hours of work but the cost of production in terms of real wages. In this respect France was close to the bottom among the leading industrial countries of the world even before the depreciation of the franc. Today, as the result of a 58 per cent reduction in the value of the currency, real wages in France are considerably lower than in 1936. Nor can it be argued that longer hours are needed for additional production. France, like other countries, has its quota of unemployed which could be called on in an emergency.

*

WHEN AN EX-RADICAL TURNS INFORMER, the spectacle is never pleasant. Whether J. B. Matthews's "revelations" before the Dies committee are true or false or a little of both, they will be used as a text by every ten-cent Hitler, and they are irrelevant to the business of a committee which was originally set up to find real threats to democratic institutions. It is hardly news that Communists participate, with varying degrees of influence, in a host of left organizations with whose aims their own party policies coincide. Why shouldn't they? And why should the fact of their participation make such movements untouchable for other anti-fascists, inside the government or outside? The real motive, of course, behind these belated disclosures was far more ambitious than mere red-baiting; for the next step was an attempt to connect New Deal officials—and the New Deal—with some of these same organizations. And so the inquisition completes its cycle: an assault first upon "Communists" as such, then upon the C. I. O., and finally upon the Roosevelt Administration. It becomes increasingly significant that in the torrent of reckless accusations against the left no voice has been raised against the armed military bands operating under Nazi auspices. These agencies are a direct challenge to democratic procedure; the kind of danger they embody is the only excuse for the Dies committee's existence. But the committee has chosen instead to level its guns at Mrs.—and Mr.—Roosevelt.

*

ALL IS UNQUIET ON THE MONOPOLY FRONT. The inquiry has got under way, and public hearings are likely to start in a few months. The danger is that feuds within the New Deal may drain off the energy that should go into the inquiry. One such feud has broken wide open with the release to the press by Assistant Secretary of State Berle of a confidential memorandum he had prepared for the monopoly inquiry, the contents of which had been dribbling away for a month through mysterious leaks. The incident is in itself unimportant, although Mr. Berle is reported by Marquis Childs in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* to believe in a Corcoran-Ickes conspiracy to spread "poison" about him. What is important is the utter lack of unity it reveals among the economic theorists of the New Deal on the whole question of the nature of monopoly and what to do about it. One of the most valuable things the inquiry can do is to produce order out of this chaos and give cohesiveness to the program for industrial control. Meanwhile, it is heartening to note that Thurman Arnold and his associates in the Department of Justice seem to know where they are going. In a radio speech and a New York *Times* article Mr. Arnold has made it clear that pending the revision of the anti-trust laws he intends to enforce the present ones. He had said that before, but as long as his enforcement division had a staff of sixty people, the realists in the corporations refused to be disturbed. Mr. Arnold now asks for a total staff equal to that of the SEC, which would be about 1,200 in Washington and branch offices. While Mr. Arnold only had ideas, he was considered a droll fellow. If he is given a real enforcement staff, we prophesy that he will no longer be considered a joke.

*

THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK WILL HAVE TO defeat the newly amended state constitution if, as we hope, it is submitted as a whole in November. It will be far better for the state to get along for another twenty years with an imperfect, even an obsolescent, instrument like the present constitution than to fasten upon itself such reactionary provisions as those prohibiting proportional representation and establishing review by the courts of the facts as well as the law in appeals from

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decisions by state boards. The failure of the Poletti amendment, which would have insured control by the state of the St. Lawrence and Niagara water-power sites, has resulted in an omission which plays directly into the hands of the private utilities and may seriously interfere with the development of public power in New York. Next week we shall analyze the work of the Constitutional Convention in greater detail. Here we can only report our conviction that it was a shocking waste of time and money and that its product is a hodge-podge in which the bad measures clearly outweigh the good.

*

THE *ATLANTIC MONTHLY* IS DETERMINED to grow old disgracefully. Some years ago Arthur Pound contributed to that august publication a series of glowing articles about some of our bigger and better corporations that turned out to be reading notices for (we hope) generous advertisers. A few months ago Ellery Sedgwick did his bit for fascism after a trip to Spain as a "guest" of Franco. We were reminded of both junkets when we picked out of the morning's mail a supplement of sixty-four pages bearing the *Atlantic's* imprimatur and entitled "Trouble Below the Border." It is made up of reprints and digests of as many articles as it could hold attacking the policy of the Mexican government in every field, but particularly that of oil, and proving that the Mexicans are a shiftless, ignorant red rabble who don't appreciate the money and brains that upstanding American citizens and corporations have invested in their welfare. It is fulsome in its insults to our southern neighbor, and there is no single indication that the Mexican government has any argument, good or bad, to support its present policy. Although the supplement must have cost a pretty penny, it contains only one page of advertising. Inquiry discloses that it is not being sent to *Atlantic* subscribers but is designed solely for newsstand distribution, at 25 cents; yet as a sales risk it would rate with the latest "little magazine"—unless it catches the eye of the public-relations departments of the big oil companies.

The TVA Stands Up

THE Congressional inquiry into the TVA has progressed far enough now to warrant striking a trial balance of its results. Dr. Arthur Morgan has had a chance to make his charges; the matter of the Berry marble claims, which threatened to become a *cause célèbre,* has been thoroughly aired; Mr. Lilienthal has told his side of the story; and the committee has heard testimony on the question of "yardstick" rates and on the conduct of the TVA's defense against the power-company suits. The sum total must prove a keen disappointment to Dr. Morgan, the utility companies, the reactionary politicos, and the newspaper publishers. Their efforts to smear one of the two or three most important achievements of the New Deal have definitely come a cropper. In fact, the results of the investigation must be set down as one of the most dismal defeats in the whole history of the anti-New Deal campaign. Dr. Morgan has had to back water on his charges of dishonesty made against the other TVA commissioners. What was originally played up as the Teapot Dome scandal of the New Deal has simmered down to personal differences as to the wisdom of certain administrative decisions on which it is now clear that reasonable men might easily have differed.

An important case in point is that of the Berry marble claims. The original charge was full of dark intimations of bribery, collusion, political pressure, maladministration. The utilities and the press licked their chops in anticipation of a feast. Actually they came away with scarcely a bone to gnaw at. This would be hard to ascertain from the newspaper accounts. In fact, a reading of those accounts led us, in a brief editorial comment last week on the Berry claims, to ask some pointed questions of Mr. Lilienthal and Harcourt Morgan on the subject of those claims. We suspended judgment until Mr. Lilienthal and Major Berry should have had a chance to answer the charges before the committee. Their answers, along with a summary we have received of all the testimony bearing on this point, leave no doubt of the emptiness of the charges.

There is not the slightest evidence that Major Berry ever tried to bribe TVA officials or that he exerted any pressure upon them. Nor is there evidence that they failed in their duty to scrutinize the Berry claims with extreme care. The Eckel memorandum of 1934 recommended an investigation of the rumor that Major Berry was making efforts to have his marble used in federal buildings in order to enhance the value of his claims for indemnity from the TVA for the flooding of his marble lands. Two investigations were made that showed this rumor to be unfounded. In the spring of 1935 the TVA staff searched all the title records of the Norris Reservoir area to discover whether any of the Berry leases would be invalidated for fraud. No evidence was found, for the simple reason that while the lessors executed a power of attorney in 1933 to Berry and his partners giving them the right to file claims for damage done to mineral rights by the government, this was not recorded until the fall of 1935, after the TVA search had been made. This power of attorney, along with correspondence between Major Berry and W. H. Ford, one of his associates, which Ford revealed when he fell out with Berry in 1937, constituted the basis for the TVA condemnation proceedings in that year. They could not have been discovered at the time of the 1935 investigation.

In 1935 and 1936 the TVA, acting on the theory that

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while its marble experts did not regard the Berry claims as commercially valuable, a lay condemnation commission might think differently, made conciliation offers to Berry which the latter rejected. Dr. Morgan did not dissent from these offers until after the failure of his effort to block Mr. Lilienthal's reappointment. Major Eckel, chief geologist of the TVA, who had suspected bad faith on Berry's part to start with, has testified before the Congressional committee that "equally honest people might choose between fighting things like that through and taking chances with it, or taking a chance on conciliation." The TVA for a time tried the latter course, and in 1936 made a conciliation agreement by which both sides would consult an impartial government expert, Dr. John Finch of the Bureau of Mines. When it became clear that Dr. Finch would not be available, the TVA instituted condemnation proceedings, which are still before the courts on appeal by Major Berry.

Had these facts been damning to the TVA rather than favorable to it, they would have been on the front pages and in the editorial columns of every important paper in the country. But the fact that the TVA stands up under the weight of evidence is considered a minor piece of news. When the final record has been compiled by the investigating committee, we believe that it will bear testimony to the integrity of the board members who have been under attack, as well as to the essential achievement of the TVA itself.

Felix Frankfurter

IT is unlikely that Mr. Roosevelt will send the name of his new Supreme Court appointment to the Senate before Congress meets in January. Meanwhile, however, the papers seem to agree that there is no harm in doing some guessing and urging. And most of the discussion has thus far concentrated on Felix Frankfurter of Harvard. *The Nation* takes some pride in having been the first to say editorially that no more fitting successor could be found for Justice Cardozo. Since that time Senator Norris has made his vigorous statement, and newspaper opinion has responded with an amazingly consistent approval. Mr. Frankfurter's name is reported by such reliable Washington correspondents as Ernest Lindley, Joseph Alsop, and Raymond Clapper as being at the top of the President's list. The lone dissenting voice has been that of Hugh Johnson. But given the trend and quality of the General's opinions, his opposition is final proof that the choice would be a sound one.

The appointment still has, to be sure, several obstacles to encounter. Mr. Frankfurter has been denounced by reactionaries as a radical and sinister force behind the New Deal. He is also a Jew, which in these days is no great advantage in political office. But it may be hazarded that much of the bitterness of conservative opinion about him was drawn off by his refusal to be involved in the controversy over the Supreme Court reorganization plan and by his complete dignity under attack. It may also be hazarded that the hysteria engendered by the Black appointment has helped Mr. Frankfurter's cause by giving new values to the unblemished record of his career and his reputation for technical legal competence. Conservatives and liberals alike have curiously found themselves drawn, by the very fury of their attack upon Justice Black, into the camp of Mr. Frankfurter's supporters.

But, according to the experts on such matters, other, political calculations may enter into the decision. There is a strong Catholic move to have another Catholic appointed to the Supreme Court, the argument being that Pierce Butler can scarcely represent the twenty million Catholics in America. There is also a thrust from the Mountain and West Coast states for the appointment of a Westerner, the West having lost its representatives by the resignations of Sutherland and Van Devanter. But this whole conception of the nature and basis of a Supreme Court appointment is an intolerably narrow one. The court is not meant to be a representative body, and attempts to make it one can only be mischievous and must play into the hands of those who contend that the court should have the power of passing on issues of legislative policy. The only criteria for a judge should be his ability, his willingness to keep the judicial process within the bounds of its proper functions, his social insights and democratic (small *d*) sympathies.

By these tests Mr. Frankfurter comes out on top. We are a little tired of reading the well-meaning editorials, couched wholly in a negative vein, which defend him against the charges of radicalism. One would infer from these statements that Mr. Frankfurter was no better than a Senator Wheeler or a Walter Lippmann. It is true enough to call him a liberal, but it is a blurred and blanket truth. He is certainly no passive liberal. His economics is not laissez faire, nor is his attitude toward the governmental process negativist and fear-ridden, as is that of the liberals who seem to be monopolizing the term today. He understands the meaning and danger of corporate concentration of power. He has a positive genius for focusing upon the points at which the refinements of the corporate structure touch the intricacies of legal procedure. He believes in the increasing and efficient extension of the province of government in men's affairs.

The outstanding quality in him is his belief that something can be done. To the stereotyped mind this suggests a utopian, but he is no such thing. There is a tough empiricism about him, and he has always, with an iron rigor, kept his students' thinking inside the realm of social possibility. But within that realm he has a vivid

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sense of the social constructiveness that a clear-headed, well-staffed government can achieve. Here he differs from the radical, who emphasizes mass movements and class support for new social constructions. Mr. Frankfurter's emphasis is on the administrative process as the spearpoint of social advance. Hence his personal history as adviser to a whole series of Presidents since Mr. Taft. Hence his brilliant work in the war administration. Hence his part in clearing the new field of administrative law. Hence his labors as a law teacher in an uneven struggle against the inertia of the American legal profession. Hence his talent for firing the imaginations and seeing the creative possibilities of the young men he has taught, and for placing persons of talent in the strategic posts of administrative responsibility in the government.

Ours is an age when survival depends upon a race between intelligent socialization and sheer collapse. Such an age requires the utmost in mind and heart of its public servants. Felix Frankfurter has a clear mind and a stout heart. There are some, and Hugh Johnson is among them, who say that a man who has had his enormous influence on successive administrations must be a Richelieu and cannot have a "judicial mind." It is hard to say what a judicial mind is, and certainly Hugh Johnson would be the last conceivable judge of it. It would scarcely be denied that the great justices of our history—Marshall, Taney, Holmes—have had extremely divergent kinds of mind. To take the three names with which his is most frequently linked, Mr. Frankfurter has the concrete economic grasp and passion for justice of Brandeis, the technical legal knowledge and the long perspectives of Cardozo, and something of Holmes's humanity and his gift for seeing life as a battle. Holmes got his military experience in the Civil War. Frankfurter has been a good soldier in the continuing war for a more humane and rational society.

Business Grows Better

THE recent decline in Wall Street, coupled with an apparent slowing down in business improvement, has raised the question whether the June-July recovery was, after all, a mere flash in the pan. In substantiation of this view, alarmists cite the abnormally low level of commodity prices, particularly for agricultural products, the plight of the railroads, and the inability of the steel companies to cut wages to conform with the recent reduction in prices. They lay particular stress on the huge agricultural surpluses which have piled up as a result of bumper harvests all over the world.

Other economists see in these same facts reasons for believing that the upturn has come to stay—at least for a time. The second largest wheat crop in American history has naturally brought a reduction in grain prices, but there has been no approach to 1931-32 conditions. On the contrary, the total farm income for 1938 will be approximately $7,500,000,000, well above the average for the '30's. Even if prices should drop farther, the AAA loan policy protects the farmer against loss. Any deficit that the government might incur as a result of subsidizing the farmer would not affect present prospects.

Current bulletins from other sections of the economic front are in the main highly encouraging. Business activity, as recorded in the *Journal of Commerce* weekly index, has advanced for five consecutive weeks, and is the highest it has been in 1938. The steel rate has held at above 40 per cent of capacity for three weeks. Most striking of all is the huge improvement in the building industry, which until recently has been one of the chief barriers to recovery and one of the principal sources of unemployment. Building permits in the 215 largest cities in July reached the highest level in more than seven years. This represented a gain of 54 per cent as compared with the same month a year ago, and was 60 per cent above the June level. The improvement has continued, at a somewhat diminished rate, into August.

The full effect of the government's spending program has yet to be felt. Contracts have been let and operations started in a few instances. But the substantial value of the program cannot be realized until the full quota of men are employed.

Perhaps the most substantial reason for believing in the soundness of the present upturn is the fact that commodity prices have not risen to any marked extent. When business activity increases in the face of falling prices, it means that real demand has been uncovered. It speaks especially well for the immediate future, because increased business activity generates new purchasing power which will shortly be released. The fact that prices and the cost of living have remained low means that this added purchasing power will go farther than would otherwise be the case. When economic historians record the turning-point in late June, it is probable that as much emphasis will be given to the cut in steel prices as to the benefit derived from increased government spending. Steel prices had long been out of alignment with the general price level. Their reduction, without a cut in wages, has done much to restore the economic balance.

The outstanding danger at the present time, apart from the possibility of war, is to be found in the pressure for reduced wages on the railroads and in the steel industry. Should either cut occur, it might easily initiate a wave of wage-cutting which would reverse the economic trend. Continued improvement in the next few months should eliminate this danger. But with the upturn will come other more serious threats. For there is little evidence that business has learned anything of a fundamental nature since 1929.

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Fascism Hits Washington

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, August 22

THE pattern of American fascism grows more distinct and menacing every day, and it is essentially an alien pattern. Henry Ford accepts a decoration from Hitler; migratory workers of old American stock are harried and dragooned through the California vineyards by uniformed blackshirts; persons who express sympathy with the recognized government of Spain are pilloried and boycotted. Until recently the local forms of American fascism seemed on the surface to have much in common with the soil on which they appeared. It could be argued that vigilantism was typically American —as truly a native product as the corruption of local authorities by interested corporations. However, in such manifestations as those I have cited, the underlying pattern is beginning to show through its coating of local soil—and the pattern is trademarked "Made in Italy." When this notion was first advanced, I was among the scoffers who attributed it to nervous jitters and the well-known tendency of some intellectuals to explain native phenomena in exotic foreign terms. I can no longer be blind to the fact; the evidence is overwhelming.

Mussolini's adventure was originally financed by the industrialists of Milan as a vigilante counter-attack on organized labor. Expanding with success, it became a revolution against all social-democratic forms, including the government. The same pattern was followed in Germany by Hitler and the barons of the Ruhr. The fact that some of the great German and Italian industrialists who put their money and their faith in vigilantism have lived to rue it bitterly is beside the point, save as it may serve to warn American industrialists who are inciting political adventurers to crush labor and resist the government.

In the last few months we have learned how the steel barons, corrupting local authorities and inciting and financing the activities of vigilante bands, made a bloody shambles of the American system in Chicago, Youngstown, Johnstown, Monroe, Massillon, and Canton. Nor was there any coy reliance placed on castor oil. Machine-guns, riot guns, revolvers, gas grenades, and pick handles were the chosen weapons. This choice was more typically American because it was a child of the gangster era—although it should not be forgotten that many of the gang methods were imported from Sicily, sometimes by original members of the Mafia. In addition to the steel "terror" we have the Hague dictatorship in New Jersey, and recently we have seen Governor Kraschel threaten to use state troops to resist the enforcement of a federal statute in Iowa. All are pieces of the same pattern, the pattern of American fascism. Nobody, least of all the Jews, should be surprised when such manifestations are accompanied by a sudden upsurge of anti-Semitism. Careful reporters who made the Western swing with Roosevelt told me they were amazed by the extent of this feeling, and they predicted it would become vocal if Frankfurter should be nominated for the Supreme Court.

The American fascist movement has advanced to its present stage despite the lack of a central agency to assemble its ideas and serve as an outlet for their expression. That lack has now been supplied, and the agency is operating at full blast—with government funds. It is officially titled the House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, and its chairman is Representative Martin Dies, of Texas. It should be called the Committee to Promote Un-American Activities and Undermine the Bill of Rights, and its spiritual godfather should be recognized in Dr. Paul Goebbels, of Berlin. Since I learn, from their letters, that this country contains a number of lily-fingered intellectuals who are reluctant to face a fact if it upsets them, I shall certainly be accused of hyperbole —to say the least—in the foregoing statement. So let's look at the record.

Thus far the committee has devoted itself mainly to the following: (1) attacking the only form of labor organization which the industrialists have been unable to tame; (2) smearing the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, as a means of disparaging the value of civil liberties in this country; (3) broadcasting scandal against the legitimate government of Spain, to appease American resentment over the German-Italian invasion of that country; (4) trying to soften American horror over the anti-Jewish atrocities in Germany by circulating the intimation that they were provoked by a "Jewish boycott" in this country; (5) smearing a list of New Deal officials who are on record in favor of peace and democracy. By what method does the committee strive to achieve these ends? By applying the epithets "communist" and "communism" to every person and every principle which it hopes to discredit. How did Mussolini and Hitler justify their conquest of democracy? They never took a step without proclaiming that it was necessary to save their respective nations from "Bolshevism"! It is all old stuff —fabricated in Italy, finished in Germany, and now being peddled in Washington.

The question will be asked: Does the committee know what it is doing? I should hesitate to say that it knows

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fully. In the main it is composed of Congressional nonentities whose imagination was never sufficient to carry them higher than the dream of a momentary perch in the headlines. If they could grab some personal publicity and strike a blow for the corporations they would doubtless think themselves content. However, personal publicity is a habit-forming drug. These political hacks will not give it up without a struggle. The prospect of an early return to their natural obscurity will haunt them. What then? Interests which are fully alive to the possibilities of using the committee for their own purposes will begin "feeding" it. Accordingly, watch for additional discoveries of "communism" in such C. I. O. unions as those of the longshoremen, seamen, cannery workers and fruit packers, cotton-textile workers, and radio and electrical workers. Don't be surprised if they find some in the Newspaper Guild. Surely, when the professional smearers of the shipping, textile, and steel industries are on the job, it will not be said that the publishers overlooked an opportunity. Now that I recall, I believe old John Frey did find one—Julius Klyman, of St. Louis. After all these years of trying to breathe melodrama into dreary cornfield murders for the *Post-Dispatch* Sunday magazine, Julius must be gratified to wake up and find himself an "un-American activity." If he isn't he can still sue.

For those who believe in the American way of life, there is a distinct benefit in having the phases of American fascism correlated. Heretofore the enemy enjoyed all the advantages of guerrilla warfare. Moreover, apologists for the fascist methods were in a position to deny the existence of any common plan or purpose. When the Bill of Rights was suspended at Dearborn, they could say, "Oh, that's just Henry Ford's way"; if in Jersey City, "Oh, you know Frank Hague"; if at South Chicago, "What do you expect of the Chicago cops?" and if at Monroe, "That probably is a stronghold of the Black Legion." Now, thanks to Dies and his associates, it looks as if we should have them all singing in the same key, in the same room. My backwoods ancestors used to be fond of this admonition: "The fust thing ye got to do before skinnin' a skunk is to ketch him." The trap is set —and watch them go for the bait!

Russia's Role in the European Crisis

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

A WEEK in war-threatened Prague convinced me that the Soviet Union holds the key to war and peace in Europe. Hitler's policy we know. He will attack Czechoslovakia if he can do so without plunging Europe into war. But he will not consciously run the risk of war with a first-rate power. British policy we know. Chamberlain will gladly barter away the freedom of Czechoslovakia if he can be sure that the Czechs won't fight and precipitate a general war. The Czechs, for their part, will fight if there is any possibility of support. France, because of Chamberlain's influence, cannot be wholly relied on. It will lend its assistance if Russia does, but in a crisis everything depends on the Soviets.

This is not officially the view of the Czech Foreign Office. When questioned, officials speak of their reliance on France, their faith in the fundamental good-will of Britain, and their conviction that the Czechs will find support, in a showdown, in both Rumania and Yugoslavia. Soviet aid is rarely spoken of but is taken for granted on the ground of common interest. Hitler virtually said in "Mein Kampf" that Czechoslovakia was to be the stepping-stone to the Soviet Ukraine. Thus the Czechs argue that Russia will not dare let them down.

The same argument would also apply to France and, in the longer run, to Great Britain. Yet Chamberlain, with Daladier in tow, appears ready to sacrifice Czechoslovakia for a temporary understanding with Hitler. Might not Russia play the same game? In Moscow, a week before my visit to Prague, I heard subterranean rumors, emanating from all-knowing foreign diplomatic quarters, of a pending rapprochement between the Kremlin and the Third Reich. There are those who argue that it is the only course for Russia to follow in view of the collapse of the League and the failure of the democracies to recognize their obvious self-interest. Litvinov's Leningrad speech is cited by some as marking a definite turn away from the democracies. Others go back farther and insist that the decision to hold the trials marked the end of the Soviet government's effort to build an anti-fascist bloc to stem the advance of the war-makers. Even in the last few years German trade has been more important to Russia than that of either France or England. Doctrinal differences, it is argued, are far less important than the natural economic ties joining the two countries.

Fortunately for the Czechs, all of the tangible evidence is against this hypothesis. There are no signs, either in Germany or in Russia, of a lessening of the political tension between the two countries. Hitlerism epitomizes all that the Soviets detest. Hitler has built his state on the red bogy. Moreover, as recently as May 21 the Soviets made a definite gesture in support of the Czechs. Their antagonism toward Hitler's Far Eastern ally, Japan, has

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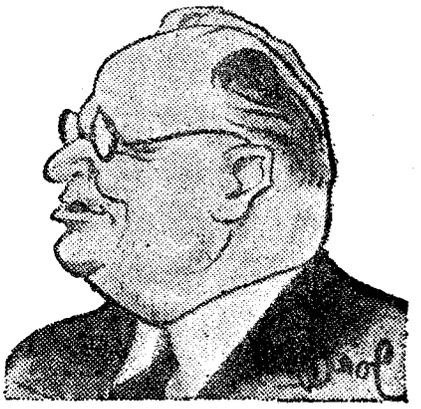
become noticeably stronger since the affair at Changkufeng. And they have gone farther than any other country in aiding Spain and China. Strange behavior for a country that is alleged to be veering from its traditional anti-fascist policy!

The most convincing evidence against a possible German-Russian agreement is to be found in the renewed emphasis which the Kremlin has recently placed on the international revolutionary movement. For some years Moscow, influenced by the exigencies of foreign policy, has been discreetly silent on the subject of world revolution. On several occasions in the past month, however, it has reasserted its traditional revolutionary role. The current issue of a Red Army magazine, for instance, speaks of the Soviet army as fighting the battles of the international working class. This emphasis is fully consistent with the reestablishment of the power of the political commissars in the army and with the steps which have been taken to introduce more democratic relations between the commanders and men. Officers who demand that the men salute them when off duty have recently come in for severe criticism. Throughout the Soviet press there is today distinctly less talk than formerly about "our country" and the "motherland," and much more emphasis on Russia's role as the vanguard of international socialism. Litvinov's Leningrad speech, though it did not mention world revolution, was notable for its class analysis of international politics.

If the Soviet Union reasserts its leadership of the international revolutionary movement, it is clear that it cannot at the same time be planning a rapprochement with Hitler. Even those who doubt the sincerity of the Soviet leaders must recognize the impossibility of reconciling these two courses of action. In theory, the Kremlin could abandon its Socialist ideals and adopt a Chamberlain-like compromise with fascism, or it could seek to rally working-class support for the Socialist fatherland. But it could not do both.

The reappearance of revolutionary slogans at this time is being interpreted in various ways. Some Moscow observers go so far as to speak of the rehabilitation of the Comintern and a return to the policies which prevailed prior to 1927. This would seem to be pressing the argument too far. If one were seeking evidence of a change in Comintern policy, one would look for it in Paris and Hankow, not in Moscow. No such change can be noticed. The Spanish Communists are as loyal to the Popular Front today as they were two years ago. No rift has appeared in the cooperation between the Chinese Communists and Chiang Kai-shek. Even in France, where the Popular Front is all but broken, the Communist Party has yet to vote against the Radical Socialist government. Communist leadership of the recent strike movement was at no time exploited for purely partisan ends.

What one finds in Russia is neither a trend toward agreement with Hitler nor a new emphasis on the Comintern, but a trend which for want of a better word has been called isolationism. The term is misleading, for the Soviet brand of isolationism has little in common with the British or American variety.



Litvinov

Moscow has no illusions regarding the prospects of collective security as long as British foreign policy remains in the hands of Chamberlain. Nowhere can one find a more ruthless analysis of the shortsighted class policies of the British and French governments than was contained in Litvinov's speech of June 23. Furthermore, the Soviets have become increasingly aware of their own strength. They have noted that fascist aggression has been invariably directed against weaker states, and have concluded that they are reasonably safe as long as they maintain their own defenses. On my recent visit to Moscow—the fourth I have made—I found the Soviet population for the first time unafraid of war. The ominous character of the international situation was clearly recognized, but it was felt that the democracies, not the Soviet Union, should be primarily alarmed by it. In part, this confidence was based on the conviction that Japan was too deeply embroiled in China to offer a serious threat in the East for many years. The Changkufeng incident had already begun, but it aroused little interest because of the general feeling that Japan was wholly incapable of launching a major war.

Yet Russia is not becoming isolationist in the sense of withdrawing behind its own borders or of abandoning its friends abroad. It remains an active member of the League of Nations and is one of the few countries which has taken its obligations under the Covenant seriously. It is rendering active aid to China under the terms of the resolutions adopted by the Council in September and May. It has remained in the Non-Intervention Committee so that it might, as Litvinov put it, "prevent the intervention of the committee . . . in Franco's behalf." It served warning on Poland on the occasion of the latter's ultimatum to Lithuania, and again when Poland threatened to intervene in the Czech crisis on the side of Hitler. It has negotiated an agreement with Rumania which will grant Soviet troops the right to move across Rumanian territory in case Czechoslovakia is attacked—a right embodied in the League Covenant but frequently forgotten. It is the one country which is not shipping war supplies to Japan.

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Soviet foreign policy today is that of a strong, self-confident country, anxious to cooperate for the preservation of peace but not afraid, as its attitude in the Changkufeng incident revealed, to stand alone. I have it on the best of authority that the Soviet Union has not abandoned its hope of collective action. It recognizes as clearly as ever that peace is indivisible, that war in any section of the world is a threat to all. It is deeply alarmed by the growth of international anarchy which has resulted from capitulation before the aggressor states. But it still believes that the aggressors may be stopped before it is too late.

Czechoslovakia will almost certainly be the testing ground. The Czechs cannot accede to the demands of the Sudeten Germans and continue to exist as an independent nation. One or the other must ultimately give way, and at the moment there is no indication that it will be the Czechs. As long as Soviet support is assured, the chances are overwhelmingly against an attack by Hitler. This situation would be changed only if Chamberlain were maneuvered into supporting, or appearing to support, the Nazi demands in Czechoslovakia. In that event Hitler might attack on the assumption that France could be kept neutral. The Czechs refuse to concede even the possibility of France's remaining neutral, insisting that its future as a great power depends on the support of the Czechs and the revitalized Little Entente.

And thus we complete the circle. War is an ever-present danger, but only if the Czechs' friends desert them in their hour of crisis. If any one of them is prepared to call Hitler's bluff, peace can be maintained. Judged by their attitude toward Spain and China, neither England nor France can be depended on. But the Soviets have exhibited few of the degenerative weaknesses of the older powers. Their army and air force are second to none in Europe. This year's harvest will be the largest in Russian history. Soviet leadership has repeatedly shown itself capable of decisive action in an emergency. Because of this fact, the Czechs are probably justified in their matchless optimism.

Living Philosophies, II

AN ANTHROPOLOGIST'S CREDO

BY FRANZ BOAS

I CANNOT describe my general philosophical points of view without showing how I think they came into being. Aware of the deception that memory may play and uncertain of how much absolute truth there is in a retrospective view of the past, I shall give what I think have been the events that determined my present thoughts.

The background of my early thinking was a German home in which the ideals of the revolution of 1848 were a living force: my father, liberal but not active in public affairs; my mother, idealistic, with a lively interest in public matters, the founder in about 1854 of the kindergarten of my home town, devoted to science. My parents had broken through the shackles of dogma. My father had retained an emotional affection for the ceremonial of his parental home without allowing it to influence his intellectual freedom. Thus I was spared the struggle against religious dogma that besets the lives of so many young people.

An early intense interest in nature and a burning desire to see everything that I heard or read about dominated my youth. Philosophical questions were therefore remote from me during my adolescent period, and I lived in the surrounding world without speculation, naively enjoying every new impression. As I remember it now, my first shock came when one of my student friends, a theologian, declared his belief in the authority of tradition and his conviction that one had not the right to doubt what the past had transmitted to us. The shock that this outright abandonment of freedom of thought gave me is one of the unforgettable moments of my life. A second shock was a series of conversations with an artistically gifted elder sister to whom my materialistic world seemed unendurable. I am inclined to think that these incidents had a permanent influence on my life because they stand out so clearly in my memory.

My university studies were a compromise. On account of my intense emotional interest in the phenomena of the world, I studied geography; on account of my intellectual interest, I studied mathematics and physics. In preparing my doctor's thesis I had to use photometric methods to compare intensities of light. This led me to consider the quantitative values of sensations. In the course of my investigation I learned to recognize that there are domains of our experience in which the concepts of quantity, of measures that can be added or subtracted like those with which I was accustomed to operate, are not applicable.

My reading of the writings of philosophers stimulated new lines of thought, and my previous interests became overshadowed by a desire to understand the relation be-

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tween the objective and the subjective world. Opportunities to continue this line of study by means of psychological investigations did not present themselves, and by a peculiar compromise, presumably largely dictated by the desire to see the world, I decided to make a journey to the Arctic for the purpose of adding to our knowledge of unknown regions and of helping me to understand the reaction of the human mind to natural environment. A year of life spent as an Eskimo among Eskimos had a profound influence upon the development of my views, not immediately, but because it led me away from my former interests and toward the desire to understand what determines the behavior of human beings. The first result of my attempts to explain human behavior as a result of geographical environment was a thorough disappointment. The immediate influences are patent, and the results of this study were so shallow that they did not throw any light on the driving forces that mold behavior.

The psychological origin of the implicit belief in the authority of tradition, which was so foreign to my mind and which had shocked me at an earlier time, became a problem that engaged my thoughts for many years. In fact, my whole outlook upon social life is determined by the question: how can we recognize the shackles that tradition has laid upon us? For when we recognize them, we are also able to break them.

The student of the forms in which human affairs present themselves in different cultures is easily led to a relativistic attitude in which nothing appears as stable. The judgments of man as to what is beautiful or ugly, good or bad, even as to what is useful or harmful, differ so much that there might seem to be no common ground on which to base absolute standards. In this view it is generally overlooked that the *ideas* of good and bad, beautiful and ugly, are ever present, and that they persist however much their forms may vary. If we can discover what is generally human and what is culturally determined we may find those lines of behavior that must guide us, for it is conceivable that those traits of human behavior that are common to all humanity are biologically determined, while the special traits are due to the particular history of each culture.

The one outstanding fact is that every human society has two distinct ethical standards, one for the in-group, the other for the out-group. Everybody has close associations with some group, however constituted, and as such has certain duties to other members of the group. The ethical standards in the group are the same everywhere. Murder, theft, lying find expression in every language. The concepts of "must" and "ought," however clumsily expressed, are probably universal. Cooperation of some sort always exists; so does subjection to a code of behavior that makes living together bearable because it allows us to predict how individuals will react to our own behavior. Outside the group the standards are entirely different. Murder, theft, and lying, which are condemned within the group, are commendable in so far as they help to protect the interests of the group against others.

We do not observe any progress in the standards of human society. We only recognize a softening of hostility between the conflicting groups, at least in times of peace, although even now the ethical standards that are considered binding differ for the citizen and the alien, for the exploiter and the exploited. War, restrictions of migration, economic barriers, class conflicts are evidences of the persistence of these distinctions.

The ethical behavior of man may be considered a further development of the herd instinct of higher animals, which also hold together as a group, offering protection to one another and aggressive hostility to other groups which are potential rivals for food supply or are enemies of the species. On the whole, the tendency has been toward enlargement of the in-group. The great ethical leaders of all times have expanded the group to embrace all humanity, because they saw that the primitive concept of specific differences between the in-group and the outsider is not valid.

As indicated before, one of the features of a social unit is the adoption of a standard of behavior for the members of the group that makes it possible for them to live together. This subjection to convention must not be mistaken for stability, for the study of every culture proves it to be the resultant of constant changes which are in part brought about by non-conformists. Discoverers of new devices and new facts, disbelievers, minds given to mysticism are in one way or another non-conformists who for a time may be treated as anti-social, but whose lives, if their ideals are valuable to the community, are likely to work profound changes. We observe in all human societies the struggle of these two tendencies. Conformity keeps tradition alive; non-conformity breaks through tradition and, if directed by reason, helps to free us from the errors of the past.

Thus, the study of human cultures should not lead to a relativistic attitude toward ethical standards. The standards within the group are the same everywhere, however much they may differ in form. Groups are formations depending upon the most varied historical developments. They may be racial, national, occupational, religious. Or they may be very small, consisting of a few individuals who consider themselves the elect. It may even be that a single individual feels himself so distinct from the rest of mankind that he claims for himself superior rights and privileges. In all these cases the ethical demands of the group, or, in extreme cases, of the individual, are in conflict with the rights of the outsider. On the whole in the history of mankind the size of groups has increased; at the same time their solidarity has been weakened, and with that the rights of the outsider have been recognized.

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There is still a sharp conflict between those who have an intense group feeling and sacrifice their individuality to the group, whose life form appears to them superior to all others, and those who feel that the group has a strictly limited cultural function and to be worthy of preservation must prove its cultural value.

It is my conviction that the fundamental ethical point of view is that of the in-group, which must be expanded to include all humanity. This leads naturally to the conclusion that the individual must be valued according to his own worth and not to the worth of a class to which we assign him. The identification of an individual with a class because of his bodily appearance, language, or manners has always seemed to me a survival of barbaric, or rather of primitive, habits of mind. Groups as they exist among us are all too often subjective constructions; those assigned to a group often do not feel themselves to be members of it, and the injustice done them is one of the blots on our civilization. Too few among us are willing to forget completely that a particular person is a Negro, or a Jew, or a member of some nationality for which we have no sympathy and to judge him as an individual.

It is pertinent to ask whether any group has a rational basis for a claim to rights not accorded to others. At the present time national and racial groups are perhaps most dominant in the Western world. The hysterical claims of the Aryan enthusiasts have never had any scientific background. The belief that a necessary relation exists between the racial position of an individual and his mental attitude has never been proved. The fact that people of different regions or of different social strata who happen to differ in bodily build behave differently is no proof that these differences are an expression of racial qualities. On the contrary, we see men of the most diverse descent producing, under proper conditions, similar works of art. We see peoples of diverse descent taking over parts of the folk-poetry, of the literature, of others and making them their own. We see immigrants merging in the people among whom they live. The racialists commit the unpardonable error of extending to racial groups the legitimate concept of inherited qualities, forgetting that every race embraces endlessly different heritable qualities. We may fairly say that if we were to select the best third of mankind, according to intellect and personality, every one of the large races would be represented in that group. The crudest form of racial consciousness is at present confined to Germany—although with respect to stronger divergences, such as those between Negroes or Asiatics and whites, it is almost equally potent in the United States and in England, mitigated by a hypocritical desire to avoid legal recognition of the facts.

The claims to superiority of national groups cannot be substantiated any more than those of racial groups. There is every reason for the cultural diversity of national groups to be encouraged—each should be given the fullest opportunity to develop along its own lines—but this has nothing to do with modern nationalism, which is based on the assumption, often too true, that every nation is the enemy of all others and in duty bound to protect its members and itself. Thus nationalism becomes concentrated on the idea of developing power, and its cultural mission is lost sight of.

The solidarity of the group is presumably founded on fundamental traits of mankind and will always remain with us. It must be the object of education to make the individual as free as may be of automatic adhesion to the group in which he is born or into which he is brought by social pressure. When the object of education is to develop the power of a group, its ideals are held up before the young as symbols to which strong emotional value is attached, thus preventing clear thinking. In its extreme forms we find this method employed in our modern despotic states—Germany, Italy, Russia. The careful nursing of patriotism in other countries is of similar character. If we want to educate not for power but for the development of free individuals we must shun symbols. We must arouse enthusiasm by holding up to view the lives of great and free men who devoted their lives to diverse ideals, stressing the cultural state that conditioned these ideals. There is no other way to overcome the herd instinct in man.

It must be admitted that too great an emphasis on individualism would weaken the power of the community. However, the ethical principles of the in-group when clearly recognized will prevent individualism from outgrowing its legitimate limits and becoming intolerable egotism. It is one of the curious phenomena of our time that intellectual and spiritual freedom is confused with social and economic freedom. In our complex society social and economic adjustments are unavoidable, and the progress of social legislation in the Western world shows that this need makes itself felt more and more. In our communities individuals cannot act according to their own whims without interfering with the freedom of others. It is, however, intolerable that the state should force a person to actions that are against his intellectual or spiritual principles.

The demand for intellectual and spiritual freedom involves the question whether we ever can be free. Since we recognize that every happening has a cause, it is said that we are not free. But in so far as actions have a purpose, we feel free to choose. It seems to me that this is a question of words. We do not doubt that every event follows an antecedent event that is connected with it. Often the connections are so varied and logically unrelated that the result appears to us as an accident, but this does not mean that we deny causality. It merely means that we cannot connect in our minds causes which

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are independent from one another but contribute to the same event.

All our choices are determined partly by our own personalities, partly by our relations to the outer world. They are predictable within narrow limits, namely, in so far as personality is the decisive element. By far the greater number of choices are determined by the coincidence of logically disconnected, therefore accidental elements which are unpredictable. On account of our ignorance of these accidental elements choice appears free.

The great appeal of the evolutionary theories of Lamarck, Darwin, and Wallace was that they suggested causal relations for the development of varied forms. At the same time the regularities of the processes indicate that accident is but a minor cause, that inherent forces are at work that control the development of the animate world. It is no more difficult to understand that a species, in the course of untold generations, may undergo changes in a direction inherent in the germ than that in the individual the germ will develop to a certain type of complex individual. It is equally unilluminating to speak of these forces as inherent causes or as teleological tendencies. I should consider the latter expression merely a metaphor borrowed from our human experience. It is not the purpose of uranium to turn into lead. Neither is it the purpose of an ovum to become a human being or of an ape-like creature to become man.

My ideals have developed because I am what I am and have lived where I have lived; and it is my purpose to work for these ideals, because I am by nature active and because the conditions of our culture that run counter to my ideals stimulate me to action.

Parliament of Youth

BY JAMES WECHSLER

THERE were moments when the proceedings of the second World Youth Congress resembled a lawn party during an air raid. The atmosphere at Vassar was alternately joyous and intense; the delegates were at once exuberant and full of dread; the shadows which darkened the campus walks were as inviting as they were morose. This was no Model League Assembly with an inevitably happy ending and medals for the best orators. It was a conclave of veterans of present and future wars. And like a football team trailing in the final quarter, they kept one eye on the battlefield, another on the clock; they knew that time was running out, they groped for a last-minute formula, they tried to subdue the slowly emerging consciousness of defeat. One cannot measure such a congress in terms of its proclamations. It revealed more about the world than it disclosed to the world. It was a spectacle whose ultimate impact is bound up with fateful issues beyond the delegates' control.

To this congress came about 500 representatives from youth movements in more than fifty countries on every continent. Their costumes were as varied as their origins. Without exception they were earnest, animated, vocal. And almost everyone was sensitive to the gap between the deliberations of the congress and the crises of the moment. They had come to talk peace with two wars raging and more to come. In their midst was a delegation from China whose members leaped out of bed at the sound of the Vassar fire alarm in the thought that it was an air-raid warning; the delegates from Spain lifted uneasy eyes at the droning of a passing plane.

In numbers the delegates were an impressive body. They represented important and far-flung millions. They had this in common—a fierce desire to sweep away the blanket of apprehension which was stifling all their lives. But the matter before them was not so simple—no simpler, in many respects, than the issues which bring cold sweat to cynical diplomats. No Youth Congress that was genuinely representative could be of a single mind. This one was the meeting-ground of a hundred passionate and often clashing hopes. Such fears and hopes do not constitute policy; they mingle subtly with the national consciousness which divides men of all ages. In a sense the delegates were confronted with a *fait accompli*—the deep-seated conflicts of a world they never made. And often they seemed like victims of a fatal disease, assembled to find some momentary relief and to assert their joy at having survived thus far.

But these were primarily the overtones of the meeting; the actual sessions and ultimate findings were molded by far more tangible considerations. While this congress was immensely broad and representative, it failed to be a "world" body in one vital respect—the absence of German and Italian youth, whose governments, on their behalf, had rejected the invitation. (The Japanese were present in body but seemed absent in spirit, wandering about in a dazed and disconsolate fashion.) Neither, on the other hand, was the congress an exclusive rallying ground for militantly democratic voices. It attracted British conservative and insurgent Indian, Arab and Zionist, Spanish Republican and a pro-Franco youth of Ireland, democratic Czech and anti-status-quo Bulgarian, French Communist and British Chamberlainite, Amer-

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ican collective-security advocate and American isolationist, European Socialist advocating collective action and American Socialist condemning it, youth of South America, youth from exploited colonies and dominions, youth from Korea and the Gold Coast of Africa—this was the meeting's latitude. Inevitably there was an excess of talk, an overflow of platitudes, periods of ambiguity that were practically more ridiculous than they were spiritually sublime.

Yet the wonder is that so many points of vital agreement could be found. All that was done was necessarily limited by the question: Will war come this month, this year? If it does, this congress was little more than a romantic and rather tragic adventure. But if somehow, through more immediate devices, the explosion can be delayed, such gatherings may vindicate the faith of their sponsors. In 1936 the first World Youth Congress drew few delegates from non-European nations; this year South American and colonial representation had assumed real magnitude. In 1936 the left was far more dominant; this year the delegates reflected every variety of non-fascist—even moderately pro-fascist—opinion. In the American group were spokesmen of widely diverse politics and faith, with organized Catholicism almost alone in its refusal to participate.

The almost universal enthusiasm for the Spanish and the Chinese cause was therefore memorable. So was the pact sealed between English and British colonial delegates, demanding wider areas of self-government and reproaching the National Government for its betrayal of the League. Throughout the sessions there were insistent pleas for some framework of collective order; a strong undercurrent was the cordiality between anti-imperialist South Americans, threatened by fascist penetration, and pro-Roosevelt Americans. Against these phenomena one has to place the Central European quest for treaty revision, the Japanese insistence upon saving China from "communism," the clash within democratic groups between the "appeasement" philosophy and a collective front, the fiery nationalism of countries like Poland, the humility of British Conservatives before Chamberlain.

The most important thing about such a meeting was that it was held at all. Its immediate effect will be misty; its results are bound to be long-term and generalized. For youth has no peculiar insight into the problem of how nations may live peacefully; it may have greater homogeneity of desire but not of opinion. Such a congress can at best provide instruments for the rediscovery of lost international loyalties, offer some refuge from the prison of inflamed nationalisms, hasten an adventure in international education, challenge the stealthy pessimism infecting the non-fascist world. "If only we can survive the next ten years, such congresses will mean a great deal," said a young Central European. He was absolutely in earnest, and no doubt he was right.

In the Wind

ON A recent two-column feature article the Washington *Star* carried this headline: "Franco's Army Commanded by 'Shirt-Sleeve' Generals." The article was actually a description of the celebrated "shirt-sleeve" generals in the Loyalist army. It had been lifted almost bodily from Leland Stowe's article in *The Nation* of April 23 and altered sufficiently to fool headline-writer as well as reader. When the *Star*, which had purchased the story from a free-lance writer, published a generous apology, confusion was still evident; the apology mentioned the "shirt-sleeve generals" who "had risen to prominence in the Spanish civil war on both sides."

THE SLOGAN of Hollywood's new million-dollar publicity drive was first announced as "Movies Are Your Best Entertainment." None of the high-pressure copy-writers had noticed that the initials of the slogan spelled M.A.Y.B.E. It has now been changed to "Motion Pictures Are Your Best Entertainment."

THE CENTRALIA killings, Armistice Day, 1919, are a dark page in the state of Washington's history. Officials have recently discovered that all newspapers carrying accounts of the event and its aftermath have disappeared from the files of libraries in the southwestern part of the state.

A NUMBER of important Jewish industrialists from the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia are in London negotiating to abandon their plants and reestablish their businesses in England. Since most of their employees are Henleinists, they are anxious to make a swift departure before the situation explodes.

THE PITTSBURGH *Post-Gazette* regularly publishes George Sokolsky's syndicated column. When the La Follette committee discussed Sokolsky's connection with the National Association of Manufacturers and the steel industry, all references to these disclosures were edited out of the Associated Press stories printed in the *Post-Gazette*.

EACH DAY the editorial page of the Utica *Observer-Dispatch* carries a "thought for the day." A recent choice was Goethe's "What I cannot praise I speak not of." Beneath this box, notes *Editor and Publisher*, appeared a series of editorials denouncing the Roosevelt Administration.

THE LONDON *Evening Standard* recently reported that the Europa and Bremen, pride of the North German Lloyd Line, now advertise kosher food as an attraction for Jewish patrons. The report was derided in several American newspapers as a "press-agent stunt," but inquiry at the line brought the calm reply: "Of course we serve kosher food—if you like it that way."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

I REJOICED to see in the August 13 *Nation* Paul Anderson's fine and just tribute to O. K. Bovard, who has just retired from the managing editorship of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. Mr. Anderson might also have added a word about Mr. Bovard's tremendous interest in Soviet Russia, which has led him to make several trips to Russia in recent years. I have an idea that Mr. Bovard's retirement is due not merely to differences of opinion with Mr. Pulitzer but also to an increasing displeasure with the state of journalism in general. I cannot believe that he was really in sympathy with the retirement of Mr. Anderson from the Washington bureau of the *Post-Dispatch*. That happening, together with Mr. Bovard's retirement, must increase the anxiety with which liberals everywhere are watching the *Post-Dispatch*. There are so few really fearless and liberal American journals left that the fate of any one of them is of great moment—indeed, it is a matter of national concern. I have never got over the shock of the *Post-Dispatch's* coming out for Landon in the last Presidential campaign; that must have caused the first Joseph Pulitzer to turn over in his grave, not once but several times.

None the less, the *Post-Dispatch* retains much of its old independence and courage. It printed, for example, on August 9, an excellent editorial on the elevation of Frank Hogan to the presidency of the American Bar Association, in which it asked if the choice of this man truly represented "the spirit and purpose of the American Bar Association" or if "the honor which has been bestowed upon him [was] merely a routine reward of long membership, seniority, and popularity?" It properly recalled that Mr. Hogan defended Fall and Doheny and other well-known offenders who were able to pay very large sums to their attorneys—the Washington *Post* says that "he was paid considerably more than one million dollars for defending Fall and Doheny." No such editorial could have appeared in the New York *Times* or *Herald Tribune* or any number of other highly respectable papers. Again, I cannot forget that the *Post-Dispatch* still has in Fitzpatrick the ablest and most outspoken political cartoonist in the country. It must watch its step, however, for it is getting strong competition from the St. Louis *Star-Times*. It must be outstandingly liberal or take second place, especially now that Mr. Anderson has gone to the *Star-Times*.

The truth is that the plight of the press of the United States becomes more and more serious as the depression lasts. The newspapers are losing hundreds of millions of dollars this year in advertising revenue, with the usual result of consolidations and even outright discontinuances. The price of paper is up, as is, and rightly, the wage scale of the editorial employees, thanks to the Newspaper Guild; and so there is a general slashing of expenses wherever possible and abandonment of special features. This does not make for editorial independence; on the contrary, it means that editors and owners are more wary than ever of offending any considerable section of their readers and advertisers. They want to play safe until they know what the economic future is going to be. In every depression those trends within the newspaper world which make for a decrease in the number of dailies are naturally accentuated, but in good times or bad the desire of the average business manager is to have a monopoly of his territory.

I note with interest that the historic old Boston *Transcript*, which has been so near extinction, has apparently been given a new lease of life, and that an able young man, Lincoln O'Brien, the son of my lifelong friend and, for many years, coworker Robert Lincoln O'Brien, has become the publisher. I hope with all my heart that young O'Brien will put this fine paper on its feet. Years ago I called Boston "the poor farm of journalism," and it still in large degree merits that appellation. Why it has not one paper to compare in its news service with the *Times* or *Herald Tribune* is beyond me; but such is the case. Apparently the community has become too parochial and too indifferent to make this possible. Both the *Globe* and the Boston *Herald* have their uses, but they are far from being liberal dailies, despite the excellent editorial columns in the *Globe*.

St. Louis is extraordinarily fortunate in still having three such newspapers as the *Post-Dispatch*, the *Globe-Democrat*, and the *Star-Times*. The plight of Chicago remains shocking, although the rise of the tabloid *Times* as a result of its advocacy of the New Deal has bettered the situation. But a readership which has in the main to choose from the Chicago *Tribune*, Hearst's *American*, and the *Daily News* is not to be congratulated. Speaking of Hearst reminds me that his chain—if it still is his—is not yet out of the woods. I count it one of what President Eliot called "the durable satisfactions of life" that I have lived to see the dethronement of William R. Hearst. The mills of the gods have taken a long time in this case, but they are grinding steadily and relentlessly.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Great Fortunes Meanly Acquired

THE BIG FOUR. THE STORY OF HUNTINGTON, STANFORD, HOPKINS, AND CROCKER, AND OF THE BUILDING OF THE CENTRAL PACIFIC. By Oscar Lewis. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.

OSCAR LEWIS'S story of the builders of the Central Pacific Railroad has been praised justly; it is pleasant to note, also, that it is popular. One finds it a little difficult, however, to explain exactly the reason for its instantaneous success with the daily and Sunday reviewers and the reading public. For it has none of the qualities of the usual popular biographies: it is, for example, neither heroic nor muckraking. The book is really made up of a collection of biographies written about a central theme, with two additional chapters on the mode of travel across the Great Plains in the eighteen-seventies and some of the more outrageous practices of the Central Pacific–Southern Pacific monopoly (the "Octopus" of Frank Norris's novel).

The biographies in themselves are the reverse of formal; indeed, at first reading they almost seem casual in their construction and choice of details. And yet they have been done with a high degree of artistry. It is interesting to try to analyze Mr. Lewis's intentions. What he has tried to do may, perhaps, be explained in terms of the method he has employed. I think it may be called very properly the classical method. Wholly detached and without rancor (also, without pity), Mr. Lewis has told the story of this company of middle-aged drygoods, grocery, and hardware merchants who suddenly achieved great wealth meanly. They were the playthings of destiny; for, without pasts, they also were without futures. The victims of their own rapacious appetites, they sought to despoil each other; they never enjoyed their ill-gotten gains: they died, at any rate three of the four did, without having left direct lines of descent or enduring family fortunes. Stanford's name is associated with a university, Huntington's with a library, Hopkins's with nothing at all; even the heritage of hate which these men bequeathed to California is already a faint memory: in other words, a few sticks and stones remain. The mood of the story's telling, one can see, is wholly ironical.

I have the greatest admiration for what Mr. Lewis has done. And yet, I wonder whether this particular method should have been employed for this particular story. For Messrs. Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins, and Crocker were not heroes out of our remote past, whose lives at no points touch ours, and therefore the proper characters for a classical drama. They were, in fact, our immediate ancestors, members of that generation of Americans which founded industrial capitalism in this country. As such, their careers have significant lessons for us. Did they build up these great fortunes of theirs by driving hard bargains shrewdly, by careful management, by personal abstinence—in other words, by what the Puritan divines of the seventeenth century referred to as application to their "calling"? Or, to put the problem in another way, has the modern state with its social planning stultified and atrophied all those sterling virtues of the pioneer capitalists so that we shall no longer see Mark Hopkinses any more because we are breeding, let us say, Harry Hopkinses? I, at any rate, would have sought to answer such questions in terms of the lives of the "Big Four." For this is one of our greatest contemporary perplexities: that is to say, whether the freedom of the individual in the industrial realm is necessary for the achievement of material progress on the one hand and the attainment of social security and the preservation of personal liberty on the other.

The answer to the problem, in the case of the "Big Four," is not difficult. They achieved great wealth not because they were mighty enterprisers, taking risks with their personal fortunes and hence gaining well-earned rewards, but because of the bounty and, incidentally, the cheating of government. The Central Pacific was built largely with government funds: federal lands, federal bonds, state and municipal subscriptions. And the insiders got their profits out of dummy construction companies and land-promotion schemes. They debauched public agencies and representatives, defrauded the settlers whom they invited into still unpatented lands, robbed stockholders, and built a property which, less than a generation later, had to be constructed all over again. The legend of the resourceful, abstemious, devoted enterpriser—a legend created by the Werner Sombarts, Alfred Marshalls, and Herbert Hoovers—is, in other words, largely an impious fraud. Nothing proves this more completely than the histories of the men who, risking nothing and contributing very little, built the Central Pacific Railroad and enriched themselves to the tune of at least a quarter of a billion dollars.

LOUIS M. HACKER

Autobiography of an Under-Dog

DEATH ON THE INSTALLMENT PLAN. By Louis-Ferdinand Céline. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

THIS is a long, dull book lacking the tragic quality which distinguished "Journey to the End of the Night." Despite the title, which is an original way of saying the autobiography of an under-dog, death no longer is one of the central characters, and the absence of the war cramps the author's style considerably. But the same unremitting violence, the same prolonged paroxysm mark everything he writes. There is no relief for the reader, whom Céline attempts to crush just as the hero's father constantly attempts to crush his son by jumping up and down, foaming at the mouth, letting off steam through his distended nostrils, breaking up the furniture, and finally puking all over the chaos he has made. In fact there probably never was a book which contained, in the literal sense, so much vomit. The family's lark to England, Ferdinand's second arrival in Eng-

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land, the big fight in the Passage des Bérésinas, and Ferdinand's return from the country are scenes which testify to the documentation Céline has amassed on this subject during his service as interne and doctor. The hero brings up as easily and as frequently as the romantic hero wept, and all the big scenes end in retching.

Ferdinand, the protagonist, is of the abulic type that Dostoevski probably created in literature and Duhamel introduced into French with his Salavin. On the surface inoffensive enough, he is only potentially harmful. His attempt to find a place for himself in life might be heartrending if we could feel any sympathy for him. Ferdinand goes through some of the normal adolescent experiences—the breaking away from home, the revolt against conventions, the sex initiation, the adaptation to life—and completely misses others, such as the experience of friendship and love and the discovery of the beautiful. The life of Parisian small shopkeepers always on the edge of destitution and the personality of one of those glass-covered passages on the right bank (now probably best visible in the Passage Choiseul) are recorded fairly faithfully. But there are no nuances in the picture. The author waves his arms too much. As he says of Ferdinand's father:

> He wound himself up again. He surpassed himself! He was swollen fit to burst. He tore open the front of his shirt. He bared his chest. . . . He's going to explode again. His fury revives. He's swelling up, his head and his eyes are enlarged. They're whirling in their sockets.

When he was awarded his M.D. in 1924, Céline had already shown an aptitude for violence. For his thesis on the life and works of Semmelweis, who committed suicide in Budapest in 1865 after making the mistake of discovering antisepsis fifty years too early, gave plenty of opportunity for outbursts against the stupidity of medical academies and of the public. Since then he has never turned off the valve. His most recent book in France, "Bagatelles pour un massacre," provoked a scandal by its resemblance to an anti-Semitic pamphlet, in which André Gide was the only one to see a vast ironic hoax.

Céline has been most frequently compared to Rabelais and James Joyce. To be sure he has in common with them lengthiness, a love of scatalogy, and a dissatisfaction with the current vocabulary, but he lacks their learning and careful composition. When Rabelais and Joyce enrich the language, for instance, they make subtle graftings and invent onomatopoetic images, while Céline simply scrambles common words as a strong man bends iron. He dominates language as he does the rest of his material, crushing it with a heavy hand. His special sense of the comic manifests itself most often in elephantine exaggeration, not unlike Rabelais at his worst—when he is carried away with the gigantic aspect of his heroes:

> Ever since the war I've had it, that whirring sound in my head. . . . It's amusing what noises it'll try: fifteen thousand different dins, a colossal hullabaloo. . . . I contain all the noises of nature, a symphonic Niagara of trumpets. I parade the big drum and an avalanche of violins. I tinkle my triangle for weeks on end. I can give anyone points on the clarinet. I've my own complete exclusive aviary of three thousand, five hundred and twenty-seven songbirds whose trillings cannot be stopped. The *vox humana* of the universe—that's me. All on my own, too, a one-man band, I'm the brass, the breath, and the inspiration. . . . I'm forever composing the opera of the Flood and the Hurricane. Then, when the curtain falls, the midnight express thunders into the station. The glass dome on high cracks across and explodes. Twenty-four valves shriek with escaping steam. The couplings clatter and jolt all the way down the train. In wide-open carriages three hundred well-oiled musicians rend the night.

If the Joyce-Rabelais comparison is misleading, there is ground for a better one, which unfortunately has less meaning here than it would have in France, where no one has apparently thought of it. In the eighteen-sixties Isidore Ducasse, self-styled Comte de Lautréamont—recently resurrected by the surrealists, whom he foreshadowed—wrote with the same unrelieved intensity, the same Gargantuan exaggeration, and the same hallucinatory manner. He suffered from a form of insanity for which pathologists have a name (his case has been studied on the basis of his writings). Certain pages from "Death on the Installment Plan," chiefly the stampede in the Bois, the vision of the gigantic lady customer in the Passage, the pitched battle in the Tuileries, and the mass attack of the inventors on Courtial's office, sound as if they had come directly from "Maldoror" save that they lack Lautréamont's brilliant flashes and startling images. Céline, moreover, shows a poverty of imagination in these mad chapters, placed about every hundred pages throughout his work, since they all describe fantastic human stampedes.

In reality Céline belongs to the strictly contemporary school of hard-boiled writers, of which we know more here than they do in France. In saying that his work will survive, Leon Trotsky revealed his shortsightedness as a literary critic. In a very short time "Death on the Installment Plan" and all the novels of that school will possess merely an archaeological interest.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

Whitman and Human Relations

WALT WHITMAN AND THE SPRINGS OF COURAGE. By Haniel Long. Writers' Editions, Inc. $2.50.

THIS book is a curious mixture: an essay in personal biography and public evangelism. Mr. Long proposes to discover how "a man finds his own path out and away" from the forces in society that destroy the individual integrity. The path out, to develop his thesis, lies in a more profound understanding and readjustment and control of human relations, which are taken to be our chief reason for living and the chief root and substructure of society. He takes as our most "instructive answerer" in these matters Walt Whitman, and classes him together with three twentieth-century writers—Gide, Rilke, and Lawrence—who have also been primarily concerned with individual integrity. He then sets about looking into Whitman's springs of courage, the sources in his life whence he drew his great spirit.

Here the book begins to fall to pieces on what has been called the paradox of Walt Whitman. It is rather ironical that this essay should follow on the heels of Miss Shephard's

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"Walt Whitman's Pose," for what she questions most is precisely what Mr. Long regards most highly: Whitman's integrity. Without approving Miss Shephard's fantastic conclusions, one must confess that the evidence of Whitman's duplicity, if not downright dishonesty, as gathered from both friends and critics, is overwhelming. Mr. Long tries to see the better side of Whitman's weaknesses; but it is hard to justify his behavior in dealing with Emerson; nor is it much easier to see any courage or understanding in his attitude toward Mrs. Gilchrist; and his relationship with Peter Doyle, though it may have been a source of strength to him, is not of a kind to be generally available or desirable to most men. In the end Mr. Long confesses that Whitman was often a bungler in human relationships, a considerable admission in view of his thesis. As far as relations go, one feels that Gide had infinitely greater courage and candor, and Rilke greater understanding, and Lawrence greater passion. This is not to suggest that Whitman's writings or doctrines are inferior to theirs, but that Mr. Long would probably have done better to confine himself to Whitman the prophet rather than run the risk of bogging down in the unresolved mysteries of Whitman the man.

But what, finally, is Mr. Long's solution of the task he set himself? Since the disorder of human relations lies at the root of man's troubles, he must have a "religion of relation" to guide and control them. This "new religion," according to Mr. Long, "continues to spread beneath the surface of our life." Where? His only description of it is to say that it "reaches out for the principle behind the Sermon on the Mount." But the Sermon on the Mount won't do, at least not until it is recreated by something more than the loose talk of the contemporary pulpit or of Mr. Long's closing pages. PHILIP HORTON

J. A. Hobson's Heresies

CONFESSIONS OF AN ECONOMIC HERETIC. By J. A. Hobson. The Macmillan Company. $2.

J. A. HOBSON has a long and honorable record of heresy in the social sciences. He began back in the 1880's by putting forward an oversaving theory of the business cycle which from the point of view of the received doctrine of the day was subversive of both truth and morals. The effect upon Hobson's later career was indeed profound. The doors of the halls of British learning were permanently closed to one who, judged by standards of temperament and ability, was eminently suited for a distinguished academic career.

Hobson could never fully reconcile himself to any other calling. His basic individualism, stemming from an early life "in the middle stratum of the middle class of a middle-sized industrial town in the Midlands," prevented him from being effective in the field of politics. His deeply humanitarian outlook made him reject the kind of society which the Liberals and the Tories alike defended. On the other hand, though he sympathized with the aims of the Socialists, he was never able to join the organized Socialist movement. His one attempt to gain election to Parliament was made as an independent, and he was hopelessly defeated. Journalism

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also attracted his attention, but as a medium for the expression of ideas rather than as a career.

Fortunately for Hobson his economic status was such ("living as I have done for the most part upon the least defensible of all forms of unearned income") as to allow him to devote his energies to study and writing in the larger field of political economy. In a short review it is impossible to mention more than a few of his numerous and substantial contributions to our understanding of the field.

Hobson's best-known book is probably "Imperialism," occasioned by a trip to South Africa on the eve of the Boer War. His firm grasp of the complicated interrelation of economic and political factors which go to make up the phenomenon of imperialism resulted in what may be described as the first great book on that subject. In the opinion of this reviewer it remains today the outstanding work on imperialism written in the English language. Marxists, indeed, are likely to think that future fame is assured to Hobson by the great indebtedness which Lenin freely acknowledged to Hobson's work in his own study of the same name. Hobson's heresy of imperialism—for it was such in terms of the dogmas which held sway in the seats of intellectual authority—was closely related to his earlier oversaving heresy. But while the best economists of the present time have come around to a point of view with regard to the business cycle which is in substantial agreement with that of Hobson, the same unfortunately cannot be said about imperialism. The meaningless question whether imperialism "pays" in terms of a mythical national profit-and-loss account still dominates academic discussions of the subject.

Another phase of Hobson's writings is concerned with what he chooses to call the "humanizing" of economics. He has dealt with this subject in two long works entitled "Work and Wealth" and "Wealth and Life: A Human Valuation." There is strong indication in his "Confessions" that he regards his work along this line as his most important and enduring contribution to the social sciences. Here, as in the case of the oversaving theory, Hobson's starting-point was the traditional doctrine of the time. He revolted against the current interpretation of cost and utility in terms of monetary magnitudes and reached the conclusion that it was necessary to go behind these concepts "to reach the body of human benefits and satisfactions which gave them a real meaning." The weakness in this approach lies in a basic confusion of thought. It may be argued that our economic system ought to be conducted with a view to these human benefits and satisfactions, but it is simply illogical to proceed from this premise to an attempt to understand that system as though it really were operated with any such ends in view. In a capitalist society economic relations run in terms of the unit of account, not in terms of human feelings. Hobson is perfectly correct in insisting that the social scientist has the right and duty to form a value judgment of the desirability of such a system; he is wrong, however, in attempting to apply the value judgment to the method of analysis instead of directly to the system itself.

This confusion of thought, unfortunately, affects more than Hobson's abstract economic theory. In the realm of diagnosis and prescription applied to the world today its presence is no less discernible. On the one hand, he is too keen an observer of the contemporary scene not to see the drift of events. "The pretense," he tells us, "that capitalism is consistent with a real democracy in which the organized working classes can take their due part in government, that 'gradualness' along the old familiar lines can still suffice, wears thinner and thinner, as the recent course of events discloses." On the other hand, the unconscious desire to interpret the world in terms of what ought to be leads to a different conclusion. Seventy-five pages after the passage just quoted we find the following: "The economics as well as the ethics of capitalism have now been punctured, and the economic world is virtually committed to displacing the private and blind enterprise of profiteers by some conscious ordering of industry under public ownership or control. This public planning will not, need not, I hold, go all the way along the road to socialism or communism." The conflict between these two views of the world is not a mere matter of the language used; it is deeply imbedded in the structure of Hobson's thought.

All the criticism which it is possible to direct at Mr. Hobson's work, however, is really beside the point so far as this little book is concerned. For in it the reader is given the chance to make the acquaintance of one of the really original and progressive economists of the last half-century. Reading Mr. Hobson's "Confessions" is not to be regarded as a substitute for reading his heresies in the original; but his "Confessions" are not less worth while on that account.

PAUL M. SWEEZY

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Crime and Society

THE CRIMINALS WE DESERVE. By H. T. F. Rhodes. Oxford University Press. $2.50.

CRIME AND THE COMMUNITY. By Frank Tannenbaum. Ginn and Company. $3.

COPING WITH CRIME. Edited by Marjorie Bell. National Probation Association. $1.25.

"THE Criminals We Deserve" will arouse the ire of the "machine-gun school" of criminology. The author, a professor at the University of Lyons, takes his title from a statement by Lacassagne. He believes that criminals, like motor cars, are the result of mass production, and attacks those who put the blame on the individual criminal in an effort to vindicate the social system. Although he admits that

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crimes cannot be interpreted solely in terms of economics, he considers economics the supreme issue. Even the Oedipus complex, which he deems responsible for hatred of authority and much murder, he explains as unresolved because of economic conditions. Göring has shown that it is not alone the poor who commit crimes, but crime may still be said to have an economic basis in that those who do not rob from hunger rob from cupidity. One of the author's most interesting propositions is that the modern school educates slum dwellers for higher things than the world can offer them in reality and hence sets up tragic conflicts.

The book is too elliptical to convince the non-Marxist. Some of the anecdotes are incredible; for instance, the story of the English gangster, James Spencer, who declares that he got a job in New York by answering a newspaper advertisement for a killer. The material, however, is always entertaining and cogent enough for the argument to merit serious consideration.

Less readable but more scholarly is "Crime and the Community," with its ample quotations from authorities, its footnotes, and its chapter bibliographies. The author of "Wall Shadows" and "Osborne of Sing Sing" has brought together much valuable material in this survey. He, too, believes that the United States has as much crime as it generates, and that to change the amount of crime in the community we must change the community. Before the criminal can be changed, his social world must be changed; for crime is part of the existing social pattern and cannot survive, in its present form at least, outside that pattern.

The text is divided into three parts: the criminal pattern, the administration of criminal justice, and a study of punitive processes. The author finds that our assumptions in dealing with crime have been faulty. We have treated the criminal as an individual rather than as a member of a group. We have believed that crime is a deliberate choice of evil by one who knows better; that its dramatization in court will turn the offender away from error rather than confirm his delinquency; and that punishment, especially imprisonment, will have a beneficial effect. The author finds, however, that our 3,000 penal institutions are almost uniformly corroding. Pending social reforms that will nip criminality in the bud, our hope lies in the newer techniques of probation and parole.

Consequently, the reader will turn with interest to "Coping with Crime." This volume is a compilation of papers read at the 1937 meeting of the National Probation Association by actual workers in the field. Among the subjects which are discussed with optimism are community organizations for social welfare, trends in probation and parole administration, camps for delinquent boys, case work with delinquents, juvenile court functions, and the psychiatric approach. Moran's chapter on Parole As It Should Be ought to be assigned as required reading for those who believe that parole "is the turning loose of a mad dog upon the community" rather than social case work in adjustment. The reader will gain from this book a better idea of the contributions of psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists to the solution of problems than Tannenbaum will grant him. This yearly publication shows increasing merit and is an indispensable manual for students of criminology.

JAMES HARGAN

What happens to "liberals" when the fighting starts-

Do you think of yourself as a "liberal"?

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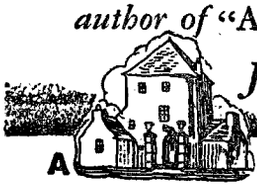

A RANDOM HOUSE BOOK

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Letters to the Editors

The President in Georgia

Dear Sirs: With Georgia's political primary still some weeks away (September 14), the nation's press is already heralding it as another test of the popularity of the New Deal. An examination of the facts shows that such is not the case.

I heard President Roosevelt at Barnesville on August 11, and afterward I sought out the reaction of various groups and individuals. While almost all personally admired the President, and some stated they would vote for him even for a third term, two out of every three regretted that he had "spoken out" that day. The general sentiment was, "He should not have come here and tried to tell us how to vote." The question of New Deal issues is, at the present time, a dormant one.

I also examined a dozen rural and small-town newspapers. All of them regret Roosevelt's purge of George, although they pledge their loyalty to the President. The old talk of rubber-stamp delegates in Congress is much used. Some rabid anti-Roosevelt papers, such as the Macon *Evening News* and the morning *Telegraph,* both published by the same owner, of course resent this "dictation to Georgia voters."

Lawrence Camp's chance of winning the nomination hinges on how well his organization makes use of the President's support. Until he received Roosevelt's indorsement, Camp was definitely not conceded much chance by the Georgia politicians. Now it is admitted that he is in the running. But thus far his campaign has been poorly organized. Senator George has had strong organizational support all over the state. Will the Camp forces be able to catch up? No one can tell at this date. But whatever the outcome, the President and the New Deal are not on trial with Georgia's voters.

Senator George is making much use of the indorsement he received from President William Green of the A. F. of L. It is of interest to note that the cooperative labor legislative committee of Georgia, representing the Georgia Federation of Labor and the "Big Four" Railway Brotherhoods, "reluctantly" indorsed his candidacy. A statement signed by the officials of this committee said that George was indorsed "by order from the national legislative Representatives at Washington."

Former Governor Eugene Talmadge is regarded as a serious threat by some because of the county-unit system for primaries—a system under which the high candidate in a county receives all its votes. Judging from the letters-to-editors columns, he has a considerable following in the rural districts but practically none in the cities and larger towns.

The fourth man in the race, William G. McRae, is campaigning on the Townsend plan but is not conceded any chance.

ALEXANDER SILVERGLADE

Macon, Ga., August 17

Utah Laughs at Frey

Dear Sirs: Many Utah citizens smiled this morning at the statements attributed by the Associated Press to John P. Frey, American Federation of Labor official, in his testimony before the Dies committee. As most of your readers will recall, he accused the C. I. O. of being filled with Communists or Communist sympathizers, whereas the A. F. of L. was lily white in its support of American institutions. But our smiles were over a minor item. Mr. Frey listed Paul M. Peterson, former official in the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union, among the communistic. In doing so, he was caught in his own maneuvering, for Paul M. Peterson is the president of the Utah Federation of Labor. The accusation is made even more ridiculous by the fact that within the past month Mr. Peterson and Mr. Crose, secretary of the state federation, have come out for private ownership of electric utilities, in spite of the fact that the constitution of that organization is committed to government ownership.

ERNEST L. NELSON

Brigham City, Utah, August 15

American Ethnomania

Dear Sirs: Your editorial paragraph on Italy's new Aryanism in the issue of August 6 is disingenuous because it gives the impression that Italy and Germany are the only countries which lust after Nordic purity. We Americans made *Rassenschanden* of the lesser breeds years before either Mussolini or Hitler was born. We are the only "civilized" people to have revived caste, and our technique for keeping our "inferiors" in their rightful place is the envy of both Germany and Italy. We have just as absurd racial theories, we use the same calculated savagery, and we have in the Negro a large despised racial minority on which to practice our barbarism.

Nordic superiority, in fact, is recognized not only in our customs but also in the organic laws of our Southern states. Even the national government practices the same racial exclusiveness in vast areas of the public service through a policy which is much more effective than statute law. Americans, therefore, cannot conscientiously protest against the ethnomania of either Germany or Italy.

JAMES W. IVY

Phoebus, Va., August 18

A Briton on Palestine

Dear Sirs: After reading Herbert Solow's letter on Violent Holy Land in your August 13 issue I feel that as an Englishman I must put the other side. Hundreds of millions of pounds have been spent by the British government in Palestine to aid the Jews to make their National Home, many British lives have been lost in defending them; yet while the Jew is persecuted by so many nations we hear American Jews whisper about boycotting British goods until they get their own way. As for the Arab, he has even less ground for complaint. He was paid in good hard cash for every inch of ground the Jew has. Anyone who knew Palestine before the war and revisits it now can hardly believe the immense improvement. The Arab as well as the Jew has benefited beyond measure. We have two things to thank for our troubles, religious bigotry and Mussolini's Sword of Islam.

N. BLEW-JONES

Asheville, N. C., August 17

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